

UNIFICATION of GERMANY and ITALY

I. UNIFICATION OF GERMANY & ITALY

A. General Remarks

1. both unification movements of German & Italy have similar characteristics
2. both Germany & Italy geographical expressions for many centuries
 - a. & as 19th c unification approaches
 - b. although both had been united under an empireship centuries earlier
3. Austria was common obstacle to both
 - a. since Congress of Vienna dominated central including Northern Italy
4. mid 19th century unifying Germany & Italy appeared to be an almost hopeless task
5. but both countries would achieve unification at the same time
6. both Germany & Italy would achieve national unity thru pressure of a dynamic state
 - a. Italy through Sardinia
 - b. Germany thru Prussia
7. final victory for each country would be achieved thru efforts of a master politician & statesman
 - a. Cavour in Italy
 - b. Bismarck in Germany
8. each would find basis for unity in force = war
9. romanticism & nationalism would be NB to unification effort of each country
10. Napoleon responsible for interest of intellectuals in unification

II. UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

A. BACKGROUND

1. physically Germany "land of the center"
2. w/o natural frontiers on E & W
3. boundaries always had been fluid
 - a. either by push of foreigners into German lands
 - b. or more often pressing outward of Germany especially to East
4. Germany did not expand overseas like France, GB
 - a. but eastward to Poland, Russia
 - b. & formed islands of German language & culture & loyalty
 - (1) would create grave problems in future
5. no single focal point for Germany as a whole
6. like London, Rome, Paris were for England, Italy & France
7. Berlin is not heart to Germany
 - a. relatively modern city
 - b. Munich, Dresden, Cologne residents
 - (1) pointed w/pride to centuries old
8. Rhine is not focal point either
 - a. barbarian times dividing line between Roman world & barbarians
 - b. only recently in 18-19th centuries became romanticized
9. Ethnically Germany from homogeneous
 - a. Goths, Vandals, Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, Frisians, Anglo-Saxons, Slavs
 - b. all mingled to form population of modern Germany
 - c. all had different cultures & history
 - d. idea of cleavage permeated Germany thinking
 - (1) religious disunity
 - (2) political disunity
 - (3) cultural & class cleavages

B. RELIGIOUS CLEAVAGES

1. 2 opposing religious forces
 - a. both Christianity & paganism runs steadily through Germany history
2. been said that Germany was never completely & thoroughly Christianized
3. eastern parts of Germany accepted Christianity only under duress

4. Christian Charlemagne overwhelmed the pagan Saxons under Widuking or Wittekind
 - a. Saxon leader & warrior same time as Charlemagne
 - b. Charlemagne offered them choice
 - (1) Christianity or annihilation
 5. for many Germans, real hero of that time was not Karl der Grosse but pagan Widukind
 - a. because he resisted Christian might of Charlemagne
 - b. Protestant Reformation pagan tradition rekindled
 - c. again in Sturm und Drang of romantic periods
 - d. again in music dramas of Richard Wagner
 - e. & in philosophy of Nietzsche
 - f. reached its apotheosis (deification) in 3rd Reich
 - (1) although Hitler more proponent of Charlemagne's success at enlarging his empire
 6. even greater breach was religious cleavage intro by Martin Luther
 - a. G birthplace of Protestant revolt
 7. while other countries became predominantly Prot or Cath, G remained almost evenly divided between both denominations
 - a. this caused great political division as well
- C. POLITICAL DISUNITY
1. unlike other countries of western Europe royal power in G never achieved a central position
 2. like in Fr, eg monarch power consolidated in struggle agst feudal nobility
 3. HRE dominated political thinking
 4. while medieval Ger emperors dreamed of universal empire
 - a. attention more often focused on Italy than on Germany
 - b. energies expended in endless struggle between Empire & might of the papacy
 - c. in their struggle emperors forced to call upon their feudal barons for aid & made concessions to them
 - (1) thus numerous principalities arose
 - d. other countries saw breakup of feudalism & emergence of closely knit national states
 - e. Germany feudalism lingered for centuries
 - f. but idea of universal empire was an ever-present idea in many political thinkers
- D. ECONOMIC DISUNITY
1. in other countries w/advent of strong royal central power & lessening of barons' power coincided w/emergence of a strong bourgeoisie
 2. this lacking in Germany
 3. Economic transformations brought about by Age of Discovery & Commercial Revolution did not occur in G because she did not participate
 4. until well into 19th c much Northern Germany remained predominately agrarian & feudal & w/o strong & militant bourgeoisie
 5. G liberalism as well as nationalism took on a special character which set G apart from rest of western Europe
 - a. which was continuous oscillation between universalism & localism
- E. POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF GERMANY
1. 314 states & 1474 estates = 1789 independent sovereign powers
 2. held together by absolute rule of emperor & troops
 3. after Napoleon's conquest of much of German area
 4. still 39 German states
 5. local patriotism still powerful force among Bavarians, Saxons, Prussians, Wurtembergers & others
 - a. German states
- F. EMERGENCY OF PRUSSIA
1. to these above elements added another factor
 2. beginnings of nationalist spirit in G toward end 18th c coincided w/emergence of Prussia as a great power
 3. G national movement thus confronted w/serious rivalry between Prussia & Hapsburgs
 - a. who were guardians of the universal tradition of old empire & rulers of non-G peoples too
 4. Prussia had a series of competent rulers who built up her subservient bureaucracy and military as ways to achieve a strong & aggressive state
 5. Frederick the Great, 1740-86

- a. greatly increased size of Prussia thru seizure of Austrian territory & partition of Poland
- b. made Prussia a G state to be reckoned w/and demonstrated that future of Ger no longer just in Austria's hands alone
- c. by his cult of military force & military success he implanted in Prussia
- d. that inordinate reliance on military strength which both Bismarck & Hitler were to follow
- e. Prussia's successes impressed upon the rest of G a set of values, traditions & ideals that came to be accepted as universally G
 - (1) special position of the army
 - (2) officer's corps
 - (3) supremacy of military over the civil service
- f. future history Germany bears witness to triumph of the Prussian spirit

G. DIVISION OF GERMANY HISTORY

- 1. FIRST REICH
 - a. CHARLEMAGNE 800 AD CROWNED=CHARLES MARTEL
 - b. HRE began under Otto 962
- 2. SECOND REICH = GERMAN EMPIRE
 - a. 1871-1919
- 3. WEIMAR REPUBLIC
 - a. 1919-1933
- 4. THIRD REICH = FASCIST STATE
 - a. 1933-1945

III. 19TH C. REASONS FOR UNIFICATION EFFORTS

A. GENERAL REMARKS

- 1. Napoleon responsible for interest of intellectuals in German unification
- 2. his domination of Germanies at will during Napoleonic wars brought wave of nationalistic reaction
- 3. heightened by shame of German inability to drive out alien French
- 4. some of the German states (including Austria temporarily) had even allied w/Napoleon
- 5. Prussia remained firmly opposed to Napoleon
- 6. & had shared glory of victory at Waterloo w/GB
- 7. Under Metternich Austria dominated Germanies since 1815
- 8. task of unifying Germany seemed almost hopeless in 1850's
- 9. yet for most German people growing sentiment in favor of union into a nation-state
- 10. cf w/East & West Germany's desire today
- 11. businessmen urged by the conviction trade would flourish pro-unity
 - a. prosperity was already present in G
 - b. IR had come late, but by B's time enough jobs & wages good enough for people not be agitating for their economic survival
- 12. nationalists demanded it on the basis of cultural & racial unity
- 13. rev of 1848 had dual character of a crusade for more liberal govt & movement for unifications
- 14. but king's refusal to become a constitutional monarch meant unification failed at this time

B. CONFIGURATION OF GERMANY ON EVE OF UNIFICATION

- 1. in place of Germany existed 39 German states including Austria & Prussia
- 2. only Prussia & Austria were strong enough to lead a unification movement
- 3. Austria should have been unifying of Germany
- 4. but she could not risk any further expansion
- 5. Austria Empire w/diverse nationalities opposed to unification
- 6. Prussia - if had a master politician might be able to accomplish unification
- 7. Bismarck became that individual

IV. COUNT PRINCE OTTO VON BISMARCK 1815-98

A. GENERAL REMARKS

- 1. as we look at famous Germans in History, Charlemagne, Luther, Hitler
- 2. Bismarck should be on that list too
- 3. a fascinating individual

4. Henry Kissinger intrigued by him wrote a biography
5. Carl Schurz, born & educated in Prussia
 - a. but fled & became a prominent American govt official
 - b. left us memorable picture of B as he saw him in Berlin in 1868
 - c. tall, erect, broad shouldered, & on those Atlas shoulders that massive head which everybody knows from pictures - the whole figure making the impression of something colossal. "a veritable Atlas carrying upon his shoulders the destinies of a great nation" "bubbling vivacity of his talk, now and then interspersed w/French or English phrases (B a polyglot). his laugh now contagiously genial and then grimly sarcastic
6. man of action, feelings & will power
7. if I have an enemy in my power, I must destroy him
8. "I want to make music, he said, the way I like it or else nothing at all"

B. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Prussian junker (landed aristocrat)
2. von signifies this
3. after session at Univ of Gottingen & Berlin as an indifferent student, but capable duelist & rake
4. entered govt service
 - a. only career open for junker class aside from army
 - b. dismissed short time for irregular & dissipated habits
5. for centuries Junkers had furnished Prussian state w/bulk of its bureaucrats & high army officers
6. he was 1 of group of aristocrats who had urged Prussian king not to accept a "crown of shame" from Frankfurt Assembly
 - a. following 1848 Revolution
7. his diplomatic experience as rep to Russia & France during 1850's made him a skilled diplomat
8. won personal friendship w/Russian Tsar
9. had keen insight into psychology of Napoleon III (ruler of France)
10. appointed minister/president by King of Prussia
11. his loyalty to his king characterized his entire public life
 - a. I am first and foremost a royalist, everything else comes after that
 - b. Prussia is not like England where ministry is responsible to parliament. We are ministers of His Majesty the King.
 - c. According to Bismarck "position of Prussia in Germany will be determined not by its liberalism but by its power"
12. respect for legality & decency is just humanitarian twaddle
13. B - not through speeches & majority decisions are great questions of day decided but through iron & blood"
14. brilliant opportunist & manipulator = supreme Machiavellian
15. French political cartoon view of ruthless means employed by B to obtain Ger unity thru a combination of intimidation, cajoling, political concessions & war
16. became adept at blending right proportion of diplomacy & military force to achieve German unif.
17. master at waging war abroad to down play unrest on domestic front
 - a. practiced by all the rulers today & yesterday
 - b. w/in 8 yrs of power had unified Germany
18. B supreme manifestation of Nietzsche's will to power ideology
 - a. man's inherent desire for power is what dominates him

C. BISMARCK'S UNITY PLAN

1. he followed a succession of steps w/uncanny cleverness
2. 1st plotted to eliminate Austria from her commanding position in Germanic Confederation
3. there followed 3 separate wars w/Denmark, Austria & France, that achieved his aims
4. The German-Danish war tested sharpness of Prussian sword & boldness of Prussian strategy
5. Austro-Prussian War the power of Prussian military power measured against an equal partner
6. in Franco-Prussian War it was to show that the Prussian Army was now at its peak of perfection
7. Bismarck's words We Germans fear only God, nothing else in the world now seem justified.
8. each of these three wars laid basis for next one
9. & the last one helped pave the way for the world war of 1914.

slide G27

10. the first war enabled Bismarck to consolidate his internal position in Prussia & lay groundwork for defeat of his parliamentary opposition
 11. the second war succeeded in ousting Austria from leadership of Germanies
 12. & in consolidating Prussian hegemony in the north
 13. Franco-Prussian War succeeded in bringing the South Germany states under aegis of Prussian eagle
 14. & it crushed all pretense to any solution to problem of Germany unity other than through blood & iron
 15. brief description of each graphically illustrates Bismarck's genius at diplomacy & power
- D. DANISH WAR 1864
1. war w/denmark over schleswig & holstein
 2. B entered into a dispute w/Denmark over possession of Schleswig & Holstein
 3. inhabited largely by Germans but King of Denmark overlord
 4. since 1815 Holstein included in Germanic Confederation,
 5. when 1864 Danish king attempted to annex them, B invited Austria to participate in a war agst Denmark
 6. brief struggle ended w/Danish ruler renouncing claim to 2 provinces in honor of Austria & Prussia
 7. then sequel occurred that B wanted
 8. quarrel between victors over division of spoils
 9. upshot in 1866 Prussia & Austria plunged into war
- E. 7 WEEKS WAR PRUSSIA & AUSTRIA
1. since Bismarck knew Hapsburgs would be helped by Southern GERMAN provinces,
 2. so Bismarck fashioned alliance w/Italy,
 - a. promising to reward her if victorious w/Duchy of Venice area (Austria controlled)
 3. Prussia won
 4. Austria gave up claims to Schleswig & Holstein, Venice area
 5. plus Austria acquiesced in dissolution of Germanic Confederation
 6. Statim following war, B proceeded to unite all the Germ states north of the Main River into N Ger Confederation
 7. Constitution of the union
 - a. B boasted he wrote it in a single night
 - b. provided king of Prussia = hereditary Presidency of Confederation
 - c. upper house representing govt of sev states
 - d. lower house elected by universal manhood suffrage
- F. FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR
1. Final step in completion of German unity
 2. French policy toward Germany from days of Richelieu c. 17th c was policy of continuous opposition to national unification of Germany
 3. Bismarck wrote in his Reminiscences
 - a. in view of the attitude of France, our national sense of honor compelled us to go to war.
 4. B knew war w/FR best thing possible to kindle a G nationalism in Bavaria & Wurtemberg & remaining states on Main River
 - a. southern Germany area
 5. so when informed by King William I demand of Fr for perpetual exclusion of Hohenzollern family fr Sp throne been refused,
 - a. B decided time ripe for action
 - b. altered telegram to infer King William had insulted French ambassador
 - c. when French people learned of it, whole nation in uproar
 6. When Napoleon's ministers asked for declaration of war, only 10 negative votes
 7. France had been itching a long time for war w/Prussia
 8. no sooner had struggle begun than Southern German states rallied to side of Prussia
 - a. believed she was the victim of aggression
 9. from beginning Prussia had advantage
 10. disciplined German army agst inadequate & ill organized French troops.
 11. After capture of Napoleon at Sedan in 1870, & conquest of Paris 4 months later, war over
 12. Fr surrendered major portions of Alsace & Lorraine
 13. & agreed to pay an indemnity of \$1 billion.
- G. UNIFICATION EFFORT SPURNED ON BY WARS

1. patriotic enthusiasm generated by wars possible for B to absorb Ger states into North Germ Confed.
 2. treaties negotiated during course of war stipulating all of G be united into a Hohenzoller empire
 3. agreements formalized at impressive ceremony at
 - a. Versailles in 1871 (Louis XIV palace)
 4. King William I of Prussia became German Emperor
 5. B now raised to dignity of prince
 6. became Imperial Chancellor = Prime Minister
 - a. answerable only to Emperor or Kaiser
 - b. Bismarck for 20 yrs
 7. Northern German Confederation's constitution accepted as constitution of new empire
- H. CONCLUSIONS RE BISMARCK & GERMAN UNIFICATION
1. Gladstone, Prime Minister England
 - a. Iron Chancellor made Germany great but Germans small
 2. crystal ball of great Germany historian, Theodore Mommsen, 1817-1903
 - a. HAVE A CARE LEST IN THIS COUNTRY, WHICH HAS ONCE BEEN A POWER IN ARMS & A POWER IN INTELLIGENCE, THE INTELLIGENCE SHOULD VANISH & NOTHING BUT THE PURE MILITARY STATE SHOULD REMAIN

V. UNIFICATION OF ITALY = RISORGIMENTO (RE SOR' JE MEN' TO)

A. BACKGROUND

1. Italian peninsula is vastly different in climate, soil, economy
2. cf w/eastern and western Oregon's climate, population, weather
3. southern peninsula agrarian vs more urban & commercial in north
4. w/papacy in between
5. Italy has no coal, iron & few natural resources
6. under the Roman republic nearly 2500 years ago the entire peninsula was united
7. once the barbarian tribes had conquered, Roman empire became fragmentized and Italian peninsula became divergent
8. various kingdoms & city-states formed in Middle Ages
9. each highly competitive
10. Latin language had united to some degree
 - a. but vast dialects differences developed in Dark & Middle Ages
 - b. n from south - even today hard to understand
 - c. Tuscan Italian became major language under Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio & their literature
 - (1) like Shakespeare & Chaucer had done Eng

B. 19TH CENTURY UNIFICATION MOVEMENT

1. Napoleon's creation of a Puppet Kingdom of Italy
2. stimulated movt for Italian unification on part of intellectuals & middle class
3. same question for Germany needs to be asked of Italy
4. what state would be the one responsible for unification effort
5. 19th c saw 3 major independent states in Italy
 - a. Kingdom of 2 Sicilies
 - b. Kingdom of Sardinia
 - (1) island of Sardinia & mainland area of Piedmont
 - c. Papal states
6. and other areas such as Tuscany, Lombardy & Venetia controlled by Austrian Empire
 - a. area around Florence, Milan & Venice respectfully
7. Italians fortunate in that Rome was the center of their peninsula both spiritually & geographically
 - a. & had been for 2500 years
8. revolts of 1820's, 30's, & 1848 effectively suppressed by superior force of arms by Austrians
9. 1st identifiable patriot to set the idea of unity in motion
10. Mazzini 1805-72
 - a. wore only black from time he was 15
 - b. spiritual inspiration for Italian unification
 - c. known as "Soul of Italy"

- d. Exiled from Genoa for his membership in a secret & violent organization,
 - (1) based in Marseilles, France
 - e. where he founded Young Italy movement
 - (1) members all under 40
 - f. whose influence extended throughout Europe
 - g. Mazzini was an impractical businessman
 - h. impressed his followers thru his impassioned writings
 - i. he became leading prophet of the Risorgimento
 - (1) movement for Italian unification
 - j. they wanted to restore nation to glorious days of Roman & Renaissance times
 - k. he sent propaganda literature into Italian ports hidden in cargoes of stones and grains
 - l. his intense dedication & visionary ideas were to be fulfilled by another generation of Italian patriots
 - m. but to 19th c Italians Mazzini remained
 - (1) the man who sacrificed everything, who loved much, who pitied much, and who hated never.
- C. SUCCESSFUL UNIFICATION EFFORTS 19TH CENTURY
- 1. Austria always stood ready to move against any further disturbances
 - 2. 1 of few centers of independence remaining was Sardinia (island & mainland territories of Piedmont)
 - 3. its young king Victor Emmanuel II,
 - a. refused to withdraw its liberal constitution granted by his father
 - 4. it was in Sardinia that the Italian unification movement would find its base & its leader,
- D. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour 1810-61
- 1. in is under Cavour's leadership that Italian peninsula becomes nation of Italy
 - 2. architect of Italian unification
 - 3. like Bismarck, Cavour was a brilliant statesman
 - 4. Chief minister to the king of Piedmont
 - 5. born of noble family
 - 6. trained for military career
 - 7. became liberal after traveling in Switzerland, France & Britain
 - 8. made his fortune in sugar mills, steamships, banks & railroads
 - 9. once financially secure entered politics
 - 10. in 1847 cofounder of newspaper Il Risorgimento
 - a. which urged Italian independence
 - 11. 1852 became Premier of Piedmont
 - 12. concentrated his efforts on freeing Italy from Austrian Empire
 - 13. knew Sardinia could not take on Austria by itself
 - 14. allies needed
 - 15. to that end joined Britain & Fr in fight agst Russia in 1855 in Crimean War
 - 16. enabled him to speak at the peace conf. after war
 - a. where he stated Italian desire for unification
 - b. made impression on Fr & Eng & prepared way for cooperation w/Napoleon III agst Austria
 - 17. 1858 secret meeting w/Napoleon III planning strategy for war for liberation
 - 18. In exchange for additional territory from Sardinia Fr agreed to cooperate to oust Austria
 - 19. If Cavour could goad Austria into attacking Sardinia, France would come to Sardinia's defense
 - a. 1859 war w/Austria,
 - 20. after conquest of Lombardy, Napoleon III withdrew,
 - a. fearful of ultimate defeat
 - b. & afraid of antagonizing Catholics in his own country by aiding an avowedly anti-clerical govt
 - 21. Sardinia only able to make small land gains, but aroused nationalistic fervour in other Northern Italian states
- E. GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI 1801-1882
- 1. another unification movement led by this romantic free-lance adventurer began in S. Italy
 - 2. son of a poor sailor, he personified the romantic, revolutionary nationalism of Mazzini and 1848
 - 3. as a lad of 17 he had traveled to Rome
 - 4. & had been converted to the New Italy, the Italy of all the Italians
 - 5. as he later wrote in his Autobiography

6. the Rome that I beheld with the eyes of youthful imagination was the Rome of the future - the dominant thought of my whole life
7. sentenced to death for his part in uprising in Genoa,
8. he escaped to S.A. where for 12 yrs led guerilla band in Uruguay's struggle for independence
9. returned to Italy in fight in 1848 revolution
10. called the "Sword of Italy"
11. w/his famous regiment of 1000 red shirts set out to rescue his fellow Italians from oppression in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860
12. w/in 3 mos conquered island of Sicily
13. then marched to deliverance of Naples
 - a. where people already in revolt
14. by Nov the whole kingdom under unpopular Bourbon Francis II had fallen to Garibaldi
15. He apparently intended to convert the territory into an independent republic
16. finally persuaded to surrender it to Kingdom of Sardinia

F. VICTOR EMMANUEL II

1. W/most of peninsula united under single rule of King of Sardinia
2. he assumed Title of King of Italy 1861
3. Venetia still in hands of Austria, but in 1866 forced by Prussians to cede it to Italy as loser in 7 Weeks war w/Prussia
4. all that remained was annexation of Rome
5. Eternal City resisted conquest because of protection accorded to pope by Napoleon III
6. 1870 outbreak of Franco-Prussian War compelled Napoleon to withdraw his troops
7. Shortly thereafter Italian soldiers occupied Rome & In July 1871 made capital of united kingdom

G. PROBLEMS W/PAPACY

1. not until 1929 was an agreement reached w/papacy
2. until then popes shut themselves up in Vatican & refused to have anything to do w/Italian govt
3. they had been granted independent status w/in the Vatican & Lateran bldgs, along w/other concessions
 - a. under Victor Emmanuel
4. but the bitterness was too great until about 60 yrs had gone by

H. ITALY'S GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

1. parliamentary govt
2. bicameral parliament
 - a. Senate - appointed for life by king
 - b. Chamber of Deputies - elected by restricted franchise
 - c. Cabinet of Ministers - appointed by king but responsible to parliament

I. ITALIAN ECONOMY

1. steady growth of socialism gained strength in poverty-stricken south, especially Sicily & industrialized north
2. always wide gulf between wealthy few and large masses of illiterate peasants
3. depression in late 19th c
4. revolution prevented by mass emigration to US & S.A.
 - a. between 1890 & 1914 6 million left